593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 604 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bərzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a

571 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a

607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bərzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalized inter-

571 607 action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of bərzum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

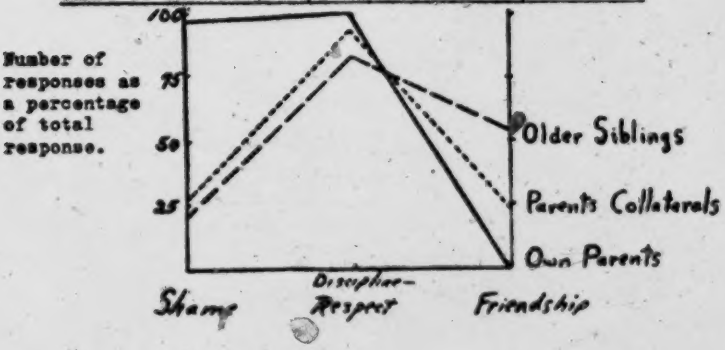
TABLE IV

Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

602 It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the bərzum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERZUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



553 other as *chiwoma* and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Bagauari District had been a particularly benevolent and popular political leader of the area. Then he learned he was to relinquish his office he left to his wife a list of children who had been named after him. He, being unable to visit any of them, asked his wife to visit them and bring them to him. This is very common custom, but the [557] relationship includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the *chiwoma* relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Bio "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa. (1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Bio is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 4)

607 Informants 72.

(527) say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded [601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a casual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

(527) [601] There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) when with his matrilateral (also cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her Wife, Ambikwa, Yenda, Ubi, Ubi Ba-Yenda, Ba-Ubi, calling his wife, Ambikwa, Yenda, Ubi, Ubi Ba-Yenda, Ba-Ubi, Yiyenda, Yiubi from Ba Ba